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Tactical Urbanism

“A pop-up Local change for Cairo's built environment”

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Abstract

"Tactical urbanism" is a low cost - temporary change approach to the urban environment that can act as a pop-up solution for Cairo's built environment. Moreover, there were many case studies that offered a domestic solution for local planning challenges with short-term action for long-term change where (low risk / high reward) urban change can be happened.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the unplanned or traditional practices that have been carried out by inhabitants, entities or initiatives, which carries out the principles of "Tactical Urbanism", and most of these cases are unprompted practices that carried out spontaneously.

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1. Introduction

Cairo, one of the oldest cities in the world, inhabited with millions of people, with urban agglomeration that is increased day by day. The city's crippling streets and open spaces are not only due to poor urban and bad traffic planning, but also for lack of order and poor management for its open spaces and streets.

"Tactical urbanism" is as a rapid / low cost approach that can make temporary change to the urban environment especially at the areas of city gathering. This approach can be an effectual solution for many spots in Cairo's built

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environment. Moreover, there were many case studies that offered a domestic solution for local planning challenges where "Tactical Urbanism" approach was adopted. Consequently, we can derive learned lessons from local and traditional examples that act as unprompted tactic urbanism practices which can be analyzed and developed.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the unplanned or traditional practices that have been carried out by inhabitants, entities or initiatives, which carries out the principles of "Tactical Urbanism" through qualitative method of data collection as interviews and participant observation. Using considerations that had been devised from relevant examples from different countries, this research attempts to identify the common features of those experiences with a comparative analysis with the local case studies in order to find out the various considerations that accompany the process of rapid change in the these spots inside Cairo's built environment, were these spots can be after development to be considered as a "Tactical Urban" role model for different spots in Cairo.

2. Tactics and the practice of everyday life

The word "Tactic" had been mentioned for the first time by the French ethnologist and historian of ideas Michel de Certeau. (Certeau, M., 1984) Certeau had been drawn into a number of official and unofficial interlocutory networks that address questions relating to neoteric cultural practices and policies. (Ahearane, J., 1995) He worked also on urban space and the tactical ways of operating appropriate man's day life. (M. Spiegel, G., 2005) When he wrote his book "The practice of everyday Life" to describe "the clamor voice of societies" and the way how people practice their everyday life, or according to de Certeau "consume" social representations and normative modes of individual or group social behavior. (M. Spiegel, G., 2005) The two books "la culture au pluriel" 1974 and "The practice of everyday Life" 1980 investigate where the relation he mentioned between strategic social and intellectual programs and "tactical" political or poetic activity. (Ahearane, J., 1995) The relation between managerial arranged place and the innovation within such arrangement were focused in Michel de Certeau's concepts of space and place and of strategy and tactics. (Hjorth, D., 2005)

"Tactic" according to Michael means a calculus which cannot count on a "proper" (a spatial or Institutional localization). (Certeau, M., 1984) Unlike strategy, the exterior boundaries are not essential for its autonomy, a tactic is a 'calculated action determined by the absence of a suitable locus'. (McFarlane, C., 2011) Neither on a border-line differentiating the other as a visible totality, where the place of "tactic" belongs to the other. (Certeau, M., 1984) Tactic, accordingly, is an interpretation resource that is put to work through everyday urban residence. (McFarlane, C., 2011) The "Tactic" interpolates itself into the space, without being seized as a whole. (Certeau, M., 1984) De Certeau is concerned with how people can use practical knowledge in their ordinary life to know how things work and then translated into various activities and contexts. Hence De Certeau's assure on the 'exploitation of time'. Where 'the space of the tactic is the space of the other' that used by different people through different times. Tactics 'traverse' and 'infiltrate' systems by playing out 'the furtive tricks of different interests and desires'. (McFarlane, C., 2011)

"Tactics" work from the bottom-up, implemented developing designs at the finer scales in an experimental, adaptable, temporary or evolutionary way which affect smaller urban areas, that have potential to affect positively and negatively other systems in the urban network, however, the impact of traditional strategic approach, doesn't appear during whole network. (L. King, K., 2012)

3. Tactical Urbanism

3.1. The notion and the concept

The notion of tactical urbanism as a bottom-up process starts with the initiative of public participants, not through following official protocol. (K. Alisdairi., L., 2014) Major tendencies consolidate the recent evolution of Tactical Urbanism in some countries as United States as : The returning back of people to the city, the Great Recession, the prompt use of the Internet and the gap between citizens and municipalities. (Lydon, M., Garcia, A. 2015) Scholars and community activists have praised this technique as an effectual way to instigate required improvements in the urban fabric of the city. (Hou, J., 2010).

Movements like tactical urbanism are to some extent a by-product of a regulatory landscape, in which rigid land development codes, containing too ideological spreading of those promoted by sustainable urbanism—created bureaucratic obstacles and drove the cost of development upward. (Turner, V., 2012).

Tactical urbanism acts at much of its current research as handbooks for urban design strategies. Small-scale interventions like "The Street Plans collaborative", "Short-term Action, Long-term change" are depicted by community-focus and realistic objectives. One of the most famous and prevalent tactics is the annual Park(ing) Day, where parking spaces are turned to transient park spaces. (K. Alisdairi., L., 2014) Bottom-up approaches like tactical urbanism supplement top-down mechanisms for strengthen inventions as they exit in contexts that support testing to give broader influence. (Westley et al. 2011). That allows all inhabitants to participate in the use and shaping of all urban space. (Purcell, M., 2008), either because the poor returned action from their city governments, or to add additional character to neighborhood. (Hou, J., 2010).

Small-scale, progressive, and sometimes temporary interventions contemplated to propagate by sharing idea through social media that has emanated as inhabitants local planning departments, in addition to developers, where financial resources and unconstrained work for conventional development are accepted for local communities' development. (Turner, V., 2012) The term tactical urbanism is often used to mention low-cost, provisional interventions that benefit local urban areas (Dube, P., 2009). It is generally referred to as "guerilla urbanism", "pop-up" urbanism" "city repair" or "Do it yourself –DIY-urbanism". (Lydon, M., 2012) We can define tactical urbanism as the use of simple or temporary revisions to urban space to cast structural environmental change (Rebar 2014).

Chiara Camponeschi (2010), a researcher on cooperative awareness with community-based, active citizenship endeavors, considers tactical initiatives as places for citizens to be the initiators of action by contributing ideas, expertise and solutions. (Camponeschi, C., 2010). Everyday urbanists are actually tactical urbanists, seeking out flexibility of land use planning and programming, in addition, encouraging for active citizen involvement in shaping urban space. (Fraker , H., 2007). These urbanists or participants don't count on the policy makers who considered themselves as municipal elements to be settled. According to Camponeschi's ideas of 'Place-Based Creative Problem Solving' these individuals have to be pushed up to become actively involved in the rehabilitation of their communities via interactive and international trends. (Camponeschi, C., 2010).

Some scholars like Margaret Crawford started preliminary rating work trying to find out connections between different kinds of tactical urban design strategies. (Crawford, M., 2011) Some of types that she identified are:

- Defamiliarization: Determine new opportunities in taken-for-granted spaces of the city.
- Refamiliarization: Re-occupation of estranged spaces in the city.
- Decommodification: Emphasizing of use values over exchange values in urban space.
- Alternative economies: such as recycling and dedicating economies actions, stepped by the everyday citizens. (K. Alisdairi., L., 2014)

Tactical Urbanism represents the final reaction to our basic human senses: progressive and self-directed action toward many issues like general livability, increasing social capital and economic opportunity. These senses are cleared up as macro-scale strategies that facilitate counting on effective development of built environment like building and streets, in addition to micro-scale tactics that include the observance of recreation, commerce, and arts. Streets are considered the backbone and public space's main reservoir, accordingly, citizen-led urbanism's spirit in the reiterated process of creating the necessary needs of urban street. (Lydon, M., Garcia, A., 2015)

Informal improvements are created by citizens, with the conditions they apply, which represents the symptoms of discontinuous planning and development processes that experienced and responded daily by inhabitants. (Gordon C. Douglas, 2014) Grids, streets, and buildings contain tactical approaches to the activities of macro-scale city. But, the micro-scale tactical approaches are discussed when we want to focus on the detailed activities and programming that these spaces involve like retail, arts and recreation. Schemers for these activities ranges from local citizens, local key persons and friendly basis activists to the municipalities, but all of them involve in activating public space. (Lydon, M., Garcia, A. 2015) Tactical urbanism gives the chance to test new concepts before making essential financial or political obligation by a multitude of local actors, may be they are acceptable, maybe not. (Lydon, M., 2012)

3.2. Practices

Everywhere, Opportunities to apply Tactical Urbanism practices exist from a blank wall, to an excessively wide street, to adequacy parking lot or vacant property. (Lydon, M., Garcia, A., 2015) Guerrilla gardening, street signage, pavement-to-parks, open streets: are examples for temporarily, sort-quick urban interferences. More pedestrian friendly, lively or enjoyable parts of the city can be achieved through inexpensive projects. (Berg, N., 2012) Tactical Urbanism is a tool used by inhabitants to annotate the realized shortcomings in policy and physical design, it is a tool for developers, organizations, and local municipalities to increase public engagement, early and overwhelmingly experiment aspects of a plan for acceleration of execution. (Lydon, M., Garcia, A., 2015)

Practices like speaking, reading, moving, shopping, cooking, etc. are tactics in character. (Certeau, M., 1984) These tactics include fields of everyday forms that include also speaking, walking, reading and shopping. (McFarlane, C., 2011) Generally, many "ways of operating" are superseding "weak" over the "strong". (Certeau, M., 1984) And that point out to the possible kinds of action when people got alienated by different strategies. (McFarlane, C., 2011)

Practices comprise homemade bike lanes and crosswalks, traffic signs and outdoor furniture like benches, repurposed land and infrastructure. (Gordon C. C. Douglas, 2014) Other tactics also like : (Play streets, Open streets, Build a better block - Park(ing) day - Guerrilla grading - Pop-up retail - Pavement to plazas - Pavement to parks - Popup cafes - Chair bombing - Food carts/trucks - Site pre-vitalization - Pop-up town hall - Informal bike parking - Intersection repair - Ad-busting - Reclaimed setbacks - Park mobile - Weed bombing - Mobile vendors - Micro-mixing - Park-making – camps) are multiple opportunities to turn over places inside our cities. (Lydon, M., 2012) Sometimes large-scale developments forms created in public spaces inspired by official infrastructure without authorization. (Gordon C. C. Douglas, 2014) Tactical urbanism includes various approaches, which points out interim activation initiatives of different property types, developed and undeveloped spaces. In addition, activation over built retail corridors, that comprising unofficial actors executing unorthodox resolutions to preserve activity within short time duration. (Lydon, M., 2012)

3.3. *Tactic Urbanism and the city*

Nowadays in many Cities, the interest in small-scale urban design interventions in reshaping urban spaces is increasing. These interventions (overwhelmingly called tactical urbanism) such as : guerrilla and community gardening, pop-up shops, reuse deserted buildings through 'creative space' movements, developing social economics and bartering systems, housing and retail cooperatives, exploitation public spaces with substitutional activities. (K. Alisdairi, L., 2014)

Large-scale development projects like stadiums, museums, parks; convention centres, etc. need essential investment of time, plus, the social, economic and political support. However, the long-term advantages cannot be ensured. (Lydon, M., 2012)

Meet the term "temporary city", and greet "tactical urbanism", borrow the term "pop-up city" from retail world. Recent common understanding arose that capital-intensive projects are not always necessary for planning of public spaces. Sometimes, minor changes and minimal design with inclusive programming, can stimulate momentum for constant and persistent one. (Greco, J., 2012)

A tactic is a fragment that manipulates events, turns them into opportunities – capturing procedure lies in 'seizing the moment'. (McFarlane, C., 2011) Both the scale and the speed of global urbanization have created an urgent need to deliver fast, low-cost, and high-impact urban improvements, particularly in contexts where resources are usually unsustainable. (Lydon, M., Garcia, A., 2015)

Planners are obsessing with control as cities are growing permanently. (Lydon, M., 2012) The promoters or we can call them 'co-creators', have a great role in the city. Entrepreneurs, activists, artists, performers, organizers or even students are examples for these 'co-creators'. The experience consumed by people is created by 'concerned citizens'. The delighted experience made by these 'co-creators' without authority or centralized orientation. Citizens got benefited from these incommensurable creative efforts. (Lydon, M., Garcia, A., 2015)

4. Cairo City and tactical Urbanism

4.1. Cairo

Cairo, the capital of Egypt, it needs no introduction to most readers. It is the largest city in both Africa and the Middle East, and one of the most significant political and cultural focal point in the region. (Sims, D., 2003) It has been for a long time a preferred topic for writers, researches and readers. With a wealth of challenges, problems and issues that mutate this mega-city into interesting laboratory. (Attia, S., 2013) although There are innovative ideas, solutions, and visions to enhance the public spaces and built environment, yet, they often remain just ideas and are never implemented, leaving the city in obscurity, unsustainability. (Attia, S., 2013)

It is not that easy to understand the power dynamics, networks, official and unofficial rules that govern spaces and built environment in Cairo in order to understand the government policies, vision, and the important systems of patronage and clientelism manifest themselves in everyday life for Cairenes. Before the January 25 revolution, Cairo, suffered from a weak administrative system, because of "excessive centralization, lack of transparency, and communication failures between the administrative apparatus and citizens" after the January 25 revolution, the consequence of involving governance, legitimacy and land in Cairo has increased. (Hamilton, N. et al., 2003) till now the problem still exists and may be exaggerated. Meanwhile, there are many different local and national government agencies involved in some aspects of the planning and management of Cairo like ministry of Housing, The general organization for physical Planning, The national organization for urban harmony, in addition to the engineering department in the governorate and local municipalities.

Policy-making and decisions are generally directed by the central government; however, it is not invincible to divisions itself. (Hamilton, N. et al., 2003) All of these, in addition to the dispersion of society have led to major consequences that contributed to the spatialisation of activities from the public spaces, reducing the political, economic, and cultural significance of spaces of the city. (Attia, S., 2013)

The urban spaces of Cairo City are missing a public realm or venue that accommodates all members of the Cairene community. Public spaces for Cairo City become contested with diverse ideologies, leading to a prevalent decline in the use of public spaces. This decline occurring at all levels within public spaces, residential outdoor spaces and even public squares. Consequently, many spaces are not doing the required role, and productions of successful places are affected by social segregation. The place-making approach generates this rigid ontogenetic result, where any change in the spatial configuration are made by the development of single entities or through engaging behavioural patterns in urban space. The consequence of valid design that consolidate social, economic and political import, and, at the same time enable natural production of social space in Cairo City that defeated by demands of inhabitants, and that is often neglected by the decision making process. (Attia, S., 2011)

Consequently, the political power is the main factor that shapes the urban realm and evidences the urban fabric. Many functions presented by public spaces as they are always stand for power of the state, and they always explain the degree of state's inequity, where use of public spaces are prevented or a little bit controlled or regulated. (Madanipour, A., 1998). On the other side in some places in Cairo, we can find the activities of the inhabitants practiced as a way of tactic urbanism, where these activities are not allowed in many public spaces and displaced from modern urban life that generate a common feeling of loss of capability to participate in the public spaces, such as Al-Mulid and traditional wedding ceremony and the popular weekly market. All these mentioned practices may be escaped or regulated by the presence of government officials monitoring and controlling conduct, in addition to symbols of power over citizenship. (Attia, S., 2011)

4.2. Tactical Urbanism Practices Cairo

Tactical Urbanism practices appear in Cairo urban spaces and street in several forms, starting from the traditional events like Al-Mulid, consolation marquee and wedding marquee, till the weekly market events. Another kind of these tactic activities also are the youth and associations initiatives that concern about urban and socio-economic development, recreational activities organization or cultural movement.

- *Developing Luxor Street in Mansheit Nasser*

Nebny is a non-profit organization, started as social entrepreneurship initiative that targets improving the living

conditions and quality of life for people in poor areas, through restraining the socio-economic problems. This initiative provides local people with the opportunity to actively engage in developing their community. One of the projects for this foundation is developing Luxor Street in Mansheit Nasser. A survey was conducted to identify population's key need, where some buildings were selected and renovated in-order to develop a touristic street in Mansheit Nasser. Some of inhabitants there are from Cairo's most skilled craftsmen, who handmade goods to be sold in Cairo Market places, who suffered from the drop in tourism movement after the revolution. Nebny organization supported these skilled men through a development program. (Nebny, 2015)



Fig. 1. (a) (b) Inhabitants participate in developing Luxor street ; (c) Building's façade in Luxor Street after adding color scheme. (Nebny, 1, 2, 2015).

Inhabitants are invited to participate in the use and shaping the urban space, additional character was added to the street through the colour scheme, this low cost intervention made Luxor Street as the backbone and main reservoir for public space. This tactic increased the general liveability, also the workshop and exhibitions that display craftsmen goods through the workshop campaign were people with the assistance of activists started renovating the workshops with new equipment.

This short-term intervention has long-term benefits of incremental investments, where this place became known to other people, developers and even to the municipalities themselves, where donations started to be collected, a large number of volunteers are coming with different disciplines and back grounds for performing the different activities. Moreover, Social, economic goals were achieved, and environmental benefits were gained through cultivating plants inside urban areas.

- *Al-Sa'ada project (Darb Sa'ada event) & (Haret ElGedawy) in Bab Al-Khalk*

Current resources regarding tactical urbanism are often oriented toward informal actors (citizens, non-profit organizations). Urban planners and municipal administrators who are interested in incorporating low-cost, temporary interventions into planning practice must address some of common issues inherent in Tactical Urbanism, through understanding the potential challenges and opportunities. (Pfeifer, L., 2013) "Mashrou Al-Sa'ada" is an example of we can take advantage of the kind of these projects and collaboratively work with inhabitants and non-governmental organizations in the process of city building.

"Mashrou Al-Sa'ada" or Al-Sa'ada project, was founded in 2013, by a sophomore architecture Student in addition other volunteers who were inspired by enormous psychological deficit in our society which is increasing day by day during past few years, especially in poor and neglected areas. They intended to reach them out through the use of architectural background to support people psychologically through colour therapy by using precisely selected joyful colour with abstract calligraphy and full spectrums, creative designs and inspiring quotes to transform the urban spaces where the inhabitants there live it, this is with the contribution of the people themselves which build a sense of pride between inhabitants that helps them to contribute to their own community. (Al-Sa'ada Project, 2015). According to one of the organizers who were interviewed, first event made by this initiative was Darb Sa'ada at old Cairo; other events had been organized later on at other placed like Haret ElGedawy near to Darb Sa'ada that has almost the same characteristics.



Fig. 2. (a) (b) (c) (d) Music, Art work and wall paintings done by and inhabitants. (Al-Sa'ada Project, 2015).

Collaboration with another organization called "Art Khana" was made in order to give the way for more art practices through the event, their mission was to empower artists to deliver and show their talents, they also provided the workshops for the events with handicrafts, recycled music (Music played with handmade instruments), self-expressing sketching, painting, doodling and writing, in addition to other acoustic activities.

- *Commemoration of the holy figures "Al-Mulid":*

Al-Mulid means birthday in Arabic, it is an annual festival that commemorates the birthday of holy figures to honour their saints. These rituals practiced during these festivals are usually organized in urban spaces and streets surrounding mosques. This popular tradition takes several preparations, it undertakes days earlier by group of people called the "Mawalidiya" who travel from one Mulid to other providing "social services, where temporarily tents were put inside spaces, lighting instalments and loudspeakers, traders increase daily along as visitors coming from different districts for this special occasion, it becomes difficult to move as crowds increase by time to see the different spectacles and sceneries. Tents are taking down after ending up the ceremony, where the travelling carnivals move to the next festival. (Tour Egypt, 2015) Unfortunately this traditional configuration which had been developed through interaction of Cairo's inhabitants with space along the time had been destroyed day by day, the same to other major public festivals that occur in public spaces and streets of Cairo, where spaces for public activities became limited or controlled. (Attia, S., 2011) The "creative space" that accommodates the ceremonies through exploitation public spaces with the ritual activities that had been manipulating through intensified tactics along the day till the night.



Fig. 3. (a) Tents and entertainment equipment stored before carnival's night. (b) Urban space with equipment and tents installed and visitors began to come to the carnival . (Tour Egypt, 1, 2015).

- *Friday Market, (Weekly Market):*

According to Informal Settlements Development Fund (ISDF), there are about seven weekly markets in Cairo, these popular local markets like flea market (or swap meet in Paris, Petticoat Lane in London).



Fig. 4. (a) Petticoat Lane Market in London. (b) (c) Swap meet in Paris. (London's street market, 2008), (Kleinschmidt, K. A., 1999).

where lots of things such as junk, ornament, or treasure can be sold, with affordable prices to many thousands of people who are drawn every week from many districts, Other markets are held on other days like the Tuesday market, Sunday market, and animal market. At these weekly markets, low to middle class Cairenes can find all their needs at cheap price. Along little alleys and in between houses and shacks, some of which are probably occupied by the sellers themselves, where vendors and stalls placed inches from each other. Market is organized by people into different sections where some kind of route to follow, each specializing in a certain trade. Besides, some entertainment activities can be found.





Fig. 5. (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) (f) Friday weekly Market (Tour Egypt, 2, 2015).

The weekly Friday used-cars market (Sook Al-Sayarat) is also considered as one of the most famous weekly markets in Cairo, where the majority of Cairenes and also people from other suburbs around Cairo are seeking this place for selling, buying or exchanging their cars. This weekly event is happening once on weekly basis, and sometimes twice on Friday and Sunday, the location of the market is Zaker Hussein street, from its intersection with Hassan Hassan Maa'mon street till the end of the street with the ring road, in addition to some surrounding street, where the street is being closed from the early morning till the sunset.



Fig. 6. (a) (b) The weekly Friday used-market in Zaker Hussein street in Nasr City (Onaeg, 2015), (Ardmasr, 2015).

5. Characteristics of tactical urbanism intervention

According to Mike Lydon et al. (2012), tactical urbanism as an intervention with the following characteristics: Instigating change results, Local solutions, Short-term commitments, Low risk with high rewards and the development of social capital. (Lydon, M.)

But, if we analyse the different tactic examples, we can find that several overlapping tactic characteristics are exhibited, for example in The case of Luxor Street, an intentional, phased plan put by the NGO to instigating change in the Mansheit Nasser, may be the action just takes few days, but it took much time for preparation, the same also for Dab Sa'ada Street and Haret ElGedawy, where the youth started by preparation stage, then the fund raising stage till the implementation stage. The habituation, on the other side, gives inhabitants familiarity with the steps that are taken every week in the case of Friday market, or on a seasonally basis in the case of commemoration of holy figures.

The four cases offered tactical local solutions for local planning, regardless the negatives aspects that emerged during the process. The weekly market is a pure local solution for inhabitants, where they can find a good accessed location to sell and buy stuff. Moreover, the mentioned examples provide short-time commitment, it took no time to prepare for the weekly car market, you can find a place easily to show your car, and it took few hours to install the weekly market, and a few days to prepare, and few hours to execute the activities of Darb Sa'ada, Luxor street or Al-Mulid activities, but the expectations for all these mentioned activities are real.

The risk taken by people is low if it is not exist, where the reward is possibly high, in addition, the social capital between inhabitants and the building of organizational capacity is developing day by day, as in the case of Nebny

foundation in Mansheit Nasser or Al-Sa'ada project initiative.

The interest in small-scale interventions in reshaping and utilizing the urban spaces and streets of Cairo is increasing; people manipulate the events and try to turn these events into opportunities. Inhabitants cannot wait till a governmental intervention takes place, for example the ISDF in Mansheyet Nasser or Darb Sa'ada, or the governorate municipality in Nasr City, that gave many promises through last years to transfer the market to other place New Cairo City. The rate of urbanization and the accelerated growth of needs for the citizens is increasing day by day, in addition to the limited resources that made these tactics to be emerged. Also, the existence of the co-creators persons helps to proceed and perform, where they act as concerned key persons that moderate the urban development process.

These Tactic practices have the potential to build up democratic rights to the city, but in order to make this potential to be realized, the city's new democratic forms of authority have to be confirmed through the action and formulation on new political subjects. (K. Alisdairi., L., 2014)

6. Concluding Remarks

From the discussion above, Urban built environment of City of Cairo with the urban spaces located in it, is a good place for Tactic Urbanism, as it can play a good role in shaping and utilizing these urban spaces, either in Cairo and other cities in Egypt. The old and recent mentioned activities has favoured tactical urbanism that intended to proliferate through legacies or idea sharing, which emerged when inhabitants, NGOs, youth activities or even municipal authorities accept the limited resources they have in order to make the best use of the urban spaces, and work outside the bonds of the traditional development to utilize the urban spaces of Cairo and make development in local communities.

Many of general conditions of public spaces of Cairo are deteriorated as they become neglected, in addition to demise of social and culture spaces, where streets became just a space for movement, rather than public gathering and social integration. As all tactic urbanism projects seek to address an insufficiency in the built environment, then Tactic urbanism can intervene by understandings who are the actual target groups that we have to plan or design to, either the inhabitants as we see in case of Al-Sa'ada project or Nebny foundation, or visitors to the weekly market. Identification of the assets of the built environment, and addressing the site problems is also a very important step. Tactical Urbanism cannot solve all the problems and challenges that face urban spaces in Cairo, but, it can respond to some needs of the inhabitants and raise awareness about continual problems. It helps to improve physical environment and economic circumstances of people as mentioned in the case of Luxor Street and Al-Sa'ada project, providing adequate place for retail and entertainment needs of citizens as in case of Weekly Friday market and Al-Mulid.

Places in Cairo City that are ripe for tactical urbanism interventions like Zaker Husein St., Luxor St., Darb Sa'ada or Al-Mulid locations...etc, are what we can call opportunity sites that need physical, social, economic and environmental attention, as these sites become a clear target for intervention, where a feed and feed-back spontaneous mechanism (Feedback loop) can be efficient for utilizing these sites. Post-implementation evaluation is essential to identify the positives and negatives that occurred during the development process, a survey could be conducted similar to the "population's key need survey" in the case of developing Luxor Street in order to make sure that development process goes in the right way, and bridging the gap between what was planned and achieved.

Tactical Urbanism can play a good role in improving the liveability of Cairo and other cities in Egypt that commonly starts at the street, block, or building scale, where these small-scale amendments are progressively seen as a way to stage more substantial investments, like open streets, pavement-to-parks, build a better block, Mobile vendors, pop-up retail, site revitalization, Park-making ...etc. where the boundaries between the citizens and public properties have to be conceived, of who is required to alter the urban environment and spaces of the city, of the authority and responsibility of municipalities and urban use value.

This bottom-Up approach can complement top-down bureaucratic mechanisms in Cairo City for fostering upgrading and development of the urban spaces, as the context of Cairo City encourage experimentation that can be given more impact rather than waiting for municipality development programs and plans. Also, new ideas of tactical urbanism can be adopted from the explained examples; the governmental municipalities can make use of the tactical entertainment activities like what happened in Al-Mulid. Some of vacant land specified for entertainment uses in new or old cities could be left without apportionment to specific owner to be uses by the inhabitants themselves for the entertainment purpose, and differentiate between which activates are permanent or temporarily allocated. The

municipalities also can make use of the tactical urbanism ideas that evokes from events like Friday market through redesign the roads and the open spaces in order to accommodate the other activities that are usually occurred. The municipalities need also to learn from the tactical urbanism that the restraints and codified controls of city spaces today at some places will not do. To keep this movement accountable to the residents of Cairo, people much gain more support from the government in addition to efforts of the NGOs and local people's initiatives Al-Sa'ada and Luxor street are two examples which prove that if the municipalities don't have the capabilities to make the minimum change for the city's spaces then at least they have to find ways for inhabitants to the control of the conditions of their existence, so these initiatives can be pushed further to implementing true changes.

Accordingly, a shift in how Cairenes relate to physical and policy environment of Cairo City, a willingness to make development and best use of their streets and urban spaces without waiting for municipalities' permission, putting the ideals for improvements of urban environments by themselves, and work on building bridges with NGOs, interested developers and other interested entities that imitative such informal activities.

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